Back to
Table of contents

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ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF ᶜANJAR (ᶜAYN AL-JARR) AS AN UMAYYAD FOUNDATION

In 1938, in *Römische Tempel in Syrien,*[1] Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann published a number of surveys carried out by members of the Deutscher Baalbek Expedition in 1901–4 and an additional survey with photographs from 1933. That publication included a chapter on the ruins at ᶜAyn al-Jarr (ᶜAnjar), with a quite accurate plan, a description of the site, in which the late-antique features were stressed, and a bibliography.[2]

Apparently, Jean Sauvaget was not aware of this German publication when, in 1939, he published his article, "Les ruines omeyyades de ᶜAndjar,"[3] in which he identified the site as a Umayyad foundation on the basis of archaeological remains that had surfaced and on some literary sources, mainly the Syriac Chronicle of 846,[4] *Theophanes Chronographia,*[5] and the *Aphrodito Papyri.*[6] He rejected the traditional identification of ᶜAnjar's ruins with Chalcis ad Libanum, because of the late character of the masonry in the defense wall, and underlined the similarities to Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Mshatta, and Baghdad. Some of his argumentation was based, however, on an incorrect plan made by H. Pearson.[7] Maurice Chéhab,[8] Dominique and Janine Sourdel,[9] K. A. C. Creswell,[10] Solange Ory,[11] and others, followed Jean Sauvaget in his identification of the ruins of ᶜAnjar as an Umayyad foundation, but in recent publications, Oleg Grabar has expressed reservations about this identification and recommended further research.[12]

Indeed, the ruined complex, excavated since 1953, displays late-antique and early Byzantine features in its plan, masonry, and architectural decoration, with a few capitals and elements of entablature dating back possibly to imperial Rome.[13] But antiquities from the Ghassanid and Sasanian periods in the Near East are not always clearly distinguishable from early Islamic ones: Umayyad architecture used the same building techniques and some of the architectural decoration found in Syria and Palestine prior to the Islamic conquest. For that reason, the ruins at ᶜAnjar cannot be dated to the Islamic period without other kinds of support — from ceramics, coins, and other small finds, for example.

How helpful are the literary sources for the task of dating the ruins at ᶜAnjar and identifying the occupation of the site both before and in the Islamic period? If the ruined town at ᶜAnjar is indeed an Islamic foundation, when was it built, who built it, was it ever completed, and if so who dwelt there? These are some of the questions I intend to consider for the period before the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750. First I will investigate the possibility of a pre-Islamic date for the agglomeration of ᶜAnjar, known in Islamic sources as ᶜAyn al-Jarr. Then I will consider the literary and epigraphic sources referring to ᶜAnjar (or ᶜAyn al-Jarr) in the Islamic period up to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty.

PRE-ISLAMIC ᶜANJAR

W. F. Albright, commenting on a toponym of an inscription of Ramses III in the temple of Medinet Habu,[14] suggested it should be identified with ᶜAnjar in the Biqaᵓ valley. It should be noted, however, that no Bronze or Iron Age remains have been found in the area.[15]

More significant is Polybius's description of the wars between Antiochus III and Ptolemy Philopator in 219 B.C.: Polybius mentions a site called Gerra which he locates in the Marsias (Biqaᵓ) near lakes and marshes, where the valley between Mount Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is at its narrowest.[16] René Dussaud was among the first to identify Gerra with ᶜAnjar, or more precisely with the ruins at ᶜAnjar, partly because of the similarity between the name Gerra and the *jar* of ᶜAnjar.[17] However, the ruins at ᶜAnjar are not on a site that controls narrow passes: they are on a gentle slope, open on all sides. Majdal ᶜAnjar, two kilometers to the south, is a more likely site for Gerra since its promontory does indeed advance into the plain (which is narrowest at that level) and controls the passes along the eastern foothills of the Biqaᵓ.

The lakes and marshes mentioned by Polybius in the vicinity of Gerra are referred to in a marginal annotation of the Paris manuscript of Abu'l Fida's *Geography.* The note, commenting on the part entitled "Buhayrat al-Biqaᵓ," mentions a shallow lake between ᶜAyn al-Jarr and

Karak Nouh, drained by Sayf al-Din Dunkuz, governor of Damascus in 1320–39.[18] The southern Biqaᵓ was still marshy in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but the marshes have since slowly been drained. Before the fourteenth century, however, they extended over the whole width of the shallow plain, whose altitude varied only from 964 to 967.5 meters above sea level,[19] at the point where the Marsias, now called the Biqaᵓ Valley, narrows beneath the promontory crowned by the temple of Majdal ᶜAnjar,[20] near which Gerra was probably located.[21]

At Majdal ᶜAnjar several caravan roads — from Homs and Baᶜalbek, Damascus, Tiberias, Sidon, and Tyre — converge, but the site itself could not have been a caravan halt because its source of fresh water was barely sufficient even for a small settlement.[22] Instead, the caravans stopped four kilometers to the north, where there were springs[23] which must have been known to travelers after the name of Gerra, the nearest settlement. The mountain, overlooking the area of the springs and the agglomerations of ᶜAnjar and Majdal ᶜAnjar, was also called after Gerra. Agapius (Mahbub) of Membidj (tenth century) records the mountain's name as Tell Ghara,[24] and Yakut (1179–1229) notes that it was originally called "al-Jarr."[25] Even though both authors wrote much later than the Umayyad period, it does seem likely that the name ᶜAnjar/ᶜAyn al-Jarr derives from Gerra.[26]

Chalcis ad Libanum[27] is also generally believed to be at ᶜAnjar. René Dussaud identifies it, along with Gerra, with the ruined complex of ᶜAnjar.[28] Chalcis, in his opinion, was the Greek name for the site and Gerra the local one. Henri Seyrig pointed out that the coins of Chalcis that ended up on the market in Beirut all came from the southern Biqaᵓ; he adds, "L'identification de Chalcis avec la région de ᶜAnjar ne fait aucun doute à moins de trouver un autre nom antique à mettre sur le temple de Mejdel-ᶜAnjarr."[29] Edmonds Frézouls agrees that Chalcis ad Libanum is at ᶜAnjar,[30] but Jean Sauvaget objected to this identification.[31] Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais wrote: "À Chalcis, les premiers Omeyyades installèrent un camp qui succéda sans doute à une installation semblable datant de l'époque Byzantine et même du Bas-Empire,"[32] a statement which implies that the ruins at ᶜAnjar are not those of the Iturean and Herodian Chalcis, but Umayyad ones, built over a Roman or Byzantine installation.

Here it should be reported that no level was found under the town's general layout.[33] The ruins at ᶜAnjar, with no Hellenistic or Roman imperial features, cannot be identified as Chalcis ad Libanum, whose great period was in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.[34] The few Greek inscriptions (the earliest dated to the third century A.D.), found on re-used structures at ᶜAnjar, may have belonged to the sanctuary of Majdal ᶜAndjar.[35] The ruins have also revealed many re-used Roman bases, columns, and capitals.[36] One inscription found on a base of the restored tetrapylum bears a Greek dedication for the safety of an individual whose name was not preserved.[37] This base was not found on the site of the original tetrapylum,[38] and may never have belonged to it.

The most significant Christian evidence at ᶜAnjar is an inscription on the shaft of a monolithic limestone column in the northwest corner of the large palace, south of the mosque. The column and its base are identical in shape, diameter, and finish to the limestone columns and bases of the mosque. A Greek inscription, above which is a cross pattée, is carefully carved onto the column's shaft. It was translated by Henri Seyrig and published by J.-P. Rey-Coquais: "Bornes de l'Asile, données à la maison de prière de Notre Dame la très sainte et illustre Mère de Dieu, Marie éternellement vierge, par nos empereurs pleins de piété et d'amour pour le Christ."[39] This dedication makes it clear that the column belonged to a church dedicated to Mary, Mother of God, but we do not know where that church was. The remains of the building referred to as a mosque could, however, be basilical in plan. Churches with a straight chevet were not uncommon in Syria.[40]

So far, there is no unquestionable evidence of ᶜAnjar being earlier than the Islamic period. Theodore Noeldeke[41] noted that, in a Syriac manuscript from the end of the sixth century, there is a toponym that reads either Bajadda, Ain Jadda,[42] or Ain Jara, the place of origin of one of the clergymen who signed the document. The document itself is an epistle entitled, "Reply of the Abbots of Arabia to the Orthodox Bishops."[43] The Syriac text was translated into Latin by J. B. Chabot as follows: "Paulus, diaconus et archmandrita Ain Gara [or Ain Jadda, Bajadda], scripsi manu Alphaei, monasterii Theophili Alphaei, in Pago Durbel,"[44] indicating that a Christian church had existed at Ain Jara (or Ain Jadda, Bajadda). Noeldeke identified this site with an Ayn Jara, west of Jerash in Jordan. He ignores Durbel, which Maurice Chéhab regards as Turbul,[45] a village some two hours' walk north of ᶜAnjar. I follow Maurice Chéhab in his identification: I have visited Turbul, a Christian rural agglomeration north of ᶜAnjar and east of the Biqaᵓ valley. If the toponym of the Syriac epistle reads "Ain Jara," the association of Ayn Jara and Durbel/Terbul, in the vicinity of modern ᶜAnjar, would add credence to the theory that the name ᶜAyn al-Jarr of the Biqaᵓ valley predates the Islamic period. Where is the exact location of

pre-Islamic Ayn Jara? Was the "Church of Our Lady," mentioned in the Greek inscription on the column of the larger palace's court at ᶜAnjar, at Ayn Jara?[46] Can the ruins at ᶜAnjar date back to pre-Islamic times?

The ruined site of ᶜAnjar features a quadrangular defense wall with one gate in the middle of each side, and colonnaded avenues linking opposite gates, that intersect at right angles in the center of the fortified town.[47] This plan is similar to Roman and Byzantine castra plans.[48] The theory that the ruined town at ᶜAnjar, under which there is only virgin soil, may date back to Herodian times and is identifiable as Chalcis ad Libanum[49] is not supported by ancient sources. It needs the support of archaeological evidence. A fresher examination of the ruins may help. It is important, however, to note that none of the Greek inscriptions was found at ᶜAnjar in situ.[50]

ᶜANJAR IN ISLAMIC TIMES TO A.D. 750

In the Islamic period, references to ᶜAnjar, called ᶜAyn al-Jarr in most Arabic texts, abound. (In the following pages, "ᶜAnjar" will refer to the area and the modern agglomeration, and ᶜAyn al-Jarr to the archaeological site.) Literary documents on ᶜAyn al-Jarr from the Islamic conquest to Umayyad times yield clues that allow us to determine how much of the fortified agglomeration was standing in the Umayyad period.

Baladhuri reports that, after the conquest of Damascus, the caliph Abu ᶜUbayda went to Homs, passing through Baᶜalbek.[51] The route followed by the Muslim army is not mentioned.[52] Narrating the same event, al-Zahabi mentions Maslahat Birzeh as being along the way the Muslim army took to Baᶜalbek and Homs.[53] Maslahat Birzeh is located northeast of Damascus on a road to Halboun, Zabadani, and Baᶜalbek.[54] There is no evidence that Muslim armies went by the area of ᶜAnjar at the time of the Islamic conquest of Syria.

In the 1980's, the Bilad al-Sham conferences revealed new information that could confirm a pre-Umayyad date for the name ᶜAyn al-Jarr. Muhammad Khuraysat, in a study on the Ghassanids, reported that ᶜAyn al-Jarr was given to the clan of al-Maᵓyuf min Bani Malik bin Yazid bin Kahlan, as the conquest of Syria was ending. This information was retrieved from an unpublished manuscript of Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 762), "al-Nasab al-Kabir."[55] If the reading "ᶜAyn al-Jarr" is correct, it will be necessary to determine which ᶜAyn al-Jarr is meant. If it is ᶜAyn al-Jarr of the Biqaᵓ, there would be one more piece of evidence in favor of a pre-Umayyad date for the toponym ᶜAyn al-Jarr.

An anonymous Syriac chronicle completed in 819 says, "al-Walid founded a *madīna* and called it ᶜAyn Jara."[56] The context allows us to identify al-Walid as the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I (705–15). According to this Syriac chronicle, ᶜAyn Jara was "founded" by 715 at the latest, that is, during the Umayyad period. To indicate the type of foundation, the anonymous Syriac author used the Arabic word, *madīna* (town), transliterated into Syriac, and adds that al-Walid "called" the town ᶜAyn Jara.[57] Attributing the foundation of ᶜAyn al-Jarr to al-Walid I finds support in the Greek chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor, written between 810 and 814. Theophanes notes that in the year 6202 after the creation of the world, "Abas raided Romania, and after having captured many people, he returned to his country and began to build Gara in the province of Heliopolis."[58] "Abas" is al-ᶜAbbas, son of the caliph al-Walid I. "Gara in the province of Heliopolis" must be ᶜAyn al-Jarr, in the province of Baᶜalbek, known as Heliopolis in Greco-Roman times. Gara is again mentioned by Theophanes in the context of Marwan ibn Muhammad's victory at ᶜAyn al-Jarr in 744.[59]

Theophanes the Confessor attributes the building of ᶜAyn al-Jarr to al-ᶜAbbas, not to the caliph himself, as stated in the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle. Still, Theophanes and the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 819 agree both on an Umayyad date and on the reign of al-Walid I in particular for the construction of ᶜAyn al-Jarr. They must have used different sources, however: Theophanes gives a terminus post quem of 6202 (709–10). In addition, he specifies that al-ᶜAbbas started to build Gara (ᶜAyn al-Jarr) after he had "captured many people" in Romania.[60] Where in Romania? Al-Tabari places al-ᶜAbbas's raids in Isauria (Suriyat) or Arzanene (eastern Turkey).[61] The building of ᶜAyn al-Jarr and the capture of many "Rums" are close enough in time to allow the hypothesis that the Rum captives of al-ᶜAbbas were used as labor to build ᶜAyn al-Jarr, perhaps bringing some building or stone-cutting traditions with them.[62]

Along with the probable contribution of forced labor from Byzantine lands to the construction of ᶜAyn al-Jarr was that of some Nestorians coming from upper Iraq. They left thirty-four inscriptions on the southern slopes of the quarries at Kamid,[63] seventeen kilometers southwest of ᶜAyn al-Jarr. These inscriptions are in a Syriac dialect, except for one in Pahlavi and one in Greek. Five of the Syriac inscriptions are dated 96 (714–15), in the time of the caliph al-Walid I.[64] Three of them announce the start of a trench cut. Jean Sauvaget claimed that the Iraqi

Nestorians worked at Kamid on the construction of ᶜAyn al-Jarr.[65] René Mouterde rejected the idea on the grounds that Paul Mouterde had reexamined the defense walls with a geologist and found almost all the stones were of cretaceous limestone, darker and more compact than stones from the Kamid quarry.[66] His visit to the site at ᶜAnjar took place before the excavations were begun in 1953. K. A. C. Creswell quotes a letter from Maurice Chéhab stating:

> Our engineer [Mr. Haroutine Kalayan], who is in charge of the restoration works at Anjarr, has examined the quarries at Kamed. He has found that the stones with a dressed surface for construction at Anjarr definitely come from Kamed. He has noticed that these stones reveal the same technique of quarrying as in Kamed.[67]

In 1968, Kalayan reasserted the use of Kamid quarries for the construction of ᶜAnjar.[68] A closer look at those quarries is needed before the amount of stones extracted from there for ᶜAnjar can be determined. It is also necessary to identify the quarries from which all ᶜAnjar stones were extracted. A survey of ancient quarries in the region of ᶜAnjar and the study of the origin of the stones of the temples of Majdal ᶜAnjar, Zakweh, and Qasr al-Wadi, located between ᶜAyn al-Jarr and Kamid, are needed.

Quarrying at Kamid dates back to the Roman period, according to René Mouterde, basing his argument on a rock tomb cut into a quarry face,[69] which he believes to be Roman. The claim needs a closer look. The door of the tomb in question is topped with an ogival arch, an odd detail for a Roman or Byzantine tomb. In addition, the tradition of rock-cut tombs is attested in the Levant until at least the thirteenth century.[70] Another area of the quarries at Kamid shows Syriac inscriptions near rock-cut cliffs, "signe d'une exploitation prolongée et méthodique."[71] It is, however, true that the southern area of Kamid's quarries, where most of the Syriac inscriptions are found, was less exploited.

Were the Nestorian quarry workers employed for construction projects in Damascus, as claimed by Paul Mouterde?[72] Stone quarries abound around Damascus, and the distance separating it from Kamid makes the suggestion unrealistic. In my opinion, there is no doubt that the Iraqi Nestorian workers were brought to Kamid in 714 to serve the needs of an Umayyad construction project and that, at the time, the closest construction site to Kamid was the "*madīna*" of ᶜAyn al-Jarr, seventeen kilometers to the north.

Was the interruption of the work in the southern sector of Kamid's quarries related to the death of the caliph al-Walid I on February 25, 715, as suggested by Paul Mouterde[73] Even today outdoor labor in the Biqaᵓ valley is interrupted from December to March because of the cold and windy winter weather, called by al-Muqaddasi the most severe in Syria.[74] The Iraqi Nestorians were working at Kamid at the beginning of the year 96, which starts on September 16, 714. One can assume that, by the time the work was suspended due to cold weather in November or December 714, they had inscribed thirty-four texts on the rocks of Kamid and concentrated their efforts on a small section of the quarries, leaving the southern area until later. The exploitation of the southern quarries apparently did not resume until spring 715. As suggested by Paul Mouterde,[75] this interruption was probably related to the death of al-Walid I who was succeeded by his brother Sulayman, not by his son al-ᶜAbbas, the builder of ᶜAyn al-Jarr, according to Theophanes.[76] We may assume that al-ᶜAbbas fell from favor under the new caliph and his successor ᶜUmar (d. 720). During that period, al-ᶜAbbas ceased to participate in wars against the Byzantines, and may have had to suspend his patronage to ᶜAyn al-Jarr. Al-ᶜAbbas's role in Asia Minor resumed briefly under the caliph Yazid II in 720–22,[77] but his involvement in the Umayyad succession struggle led to his imprisonment by the caliph Marwan II in 744, and his subsequent death in captivity in 750.[78]

The Iraqi quarry workers were not the only group of laborers to interrupt their work in A.H. 96. In the same year Coptic workers returned from ᶜAyn al-Jarr to Babylon, Egypt. This information is recorded in abbreviated Greek on a papyrus found in Kom Ishgau, a village in Upper Egypt then known as Aphrodito.[79] The papyrus was translated by H. I. Bell as follows:[80] "Phamenoth 20, by letter of the Governor, by ᶜUbaid b. Shuᶜaib the courier concerning a labourer [or labourers[81]] at Aeinalger who returned to Babylon." The date of the letter was not reported by the scribe of Aphrodito. Phamenoth 20 corresponds to the date the letter arrived, or was recorded as having arrived. The indiction is revealed by the three preceding documents written on the same folio and dated to the same month, Phamenoth. With the help of Till's tables,[82] the date Phamenoth 20, 13th indiction can be translated into 5 Rajab 96 or March 16, 715. It is not possible to estimate the time taken to process and deliver this letter: it took 39 days for the two previous documents recorded to reach Aphrodito.

Like the Iraqi quarry workers, the Coptic workers must have suspended their activities in December 714 because of the cold weather. Their return to Babylon is probably

unrelated to the deaths of Kurrah ibn Shariq, Egypt's governor, on December 7, 714, and the caliph al-Walid on February 25, 715. By that time, they may simply have completed their mandatory service. The participation of Coptic workers in Umayyad construction projects is also attested at Damascus,[83] Jerusalem,[84] and Medina.[85] Copts were known to be excellent masons and were regarded as more meticulous workers than the Greeks.[86]

It appears, then, that at least three different groups were involved in the Umayyad construction project at ᶜAyn al-Jarr: captives from Byzantine lands, Nestorians from nothern Iraq, and Copts from Upper Egypt and Babylon/Fustat. We have no information about the architects and local craftsmen, and no indication whether the medina was built on a barren site, or consisted of a restoration of an earlier agglomeration.

What little is known about Muslims at ᶜAyn al-Jarr comes from some Kufic graffiti published by Solange Ory,[87] who notes that their date is difficult to determine because of their crudeness; but she adds that they appear to be quite early, and probably from Umayyad times[88] and all the names in them seem Islamic. In contrast to the Greek inscriptions found at ᶜAyn al-Jarr, most of the Kufic graffiti are in situ. None refers to the construction of the town. The only dated inscription published by Dr. Ory is preserved in situ on the outer part of the western defense wall. The date is Rajab 123 (May–June 741),[89] indicating that the defense wall was standing by that year, that is, in the time of the caliph Hisham, and that the overall plan of the town had already been established.

In 744, a struggle over the succession led to a battle at ᶜAyn al-Jarr between two Umayyad leaders, Marwan b. Muhammad, who supported the sons of the caliph al-Walid II, and Sulayman, son of the caliph Hisham, who supported the claim of Ibrahim. The battle is described by several authors,[90] among them al-Yaᶜqubi (d. 897), who states that the battle took place *"bi ᶜAyn al-Jarr"* (at ᶜAyn al-Jarr).[91] Al-Tabari (839–923) described the battle and the area of ᶜAyn al-Jarr without mentioning the fortified town.[92] He indicated that Sulayman *"nazala"* ᶜAyn al-Jarr; according to E. W. Lane, *nazala* means: "He alighted, descended and stopped or sojourned or abode or lodged or settled in the place."[93] According to Henri Lammens, the word *nazala* always refers to permanent dwellings.[94] One may assume, therefore, that ᶜAyn al-Jarr was far enough along in its construction to accommodate princes by 744.

The Syriac, Greek, and Arabic sources make it clear, then, that ᶜAyn al-Jarr was an Umayyad construction project. Does that mean it was an Umayyad foundation, as claimed by the Syriac chronicle completed in 819 and hinted by Theophanes the Confessor in his *Chronographia*? It is curious that no Arabic text attributes this site to al-ᶜAbbas or al-Walid I. The problem with identifying ᶜAyn al-Jarr as an Islamic foundation will be solved only by a thorough study of the archaeological remains, in particular the ground under the substructure, allegedly to be arable, and the small finds.

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NOTES

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1. Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, eds., *Römische Tempel in Syrien. Nach Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von mitgliedern der Deutschen Baalbek Expedition 1901–1904 ... und eigen Aufnahmen 1933...,* Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches. Denkmäler antiker Architektur, 5 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1938).
2. Ibid., pp. 192–94.
3. Jean Sauvaget, "Les ruines omeyyades de ᶜAndjar," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 3 (1939): 5–11.
4. "A Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846," ed. E. W. Brooks, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländische Gesellschaft* 51 (1897): 569–88. This chronicle copies and continues the *Chronique anonyme ad 819 pertines,* ed. J. B. Chabot, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Syri, series 3, vol. 14 (Louvain, 1934).
5. Theophanes, *Chronographia.* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885).
6. H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* catalogue with texts, vol. 4, *The Aphrodito Papyri* (London, 1910).
7. Sauvaget, "Les ruines omeyyades," p. 7, fig. 1.
8. Maurice Chéhab: "Découverte d'un palais omeyyade à Andjar (Liban)," *Akten des 24 internationalen orientalisten Kongressen* (Munich, 1957), pp. 349–51; and "The Umayyad Palace at Anjar," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 17–25.
9. Dominique et Janine Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique* (Paris, 1968), pp. 416–17, 422–24, 526; Janine Sourdel-Thomine: "Ayn al-Djarr," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:787.
10. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture. Umayyads A.D. 622–750,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 478–81 (hereafter *EMA*).
11. Solange Ory, "Les graffitis omeyyades de ᶜAyn al-Garr," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 20 (1967): 97–148.
12. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art,* rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 168; Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650–1250,* Pelican History of Art (New York: Viking-Penguin, 1987), p. 390, n. 72.
13. Hafez Chéhab, "Les palais omeyyades d'Anjar," *Archéologia* 87 (1975): 22 and 24. The subtitle "résidences princières d'été" was added to the title by the editor.
14. W. F. Albright, "The Traditional Home of the Syrian Daniel,"

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Studies 130 (April 1953): 26–27; and W. F. Albright and T. O. Lambdin, "New Material for the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2 (1957): 122, n. 44a.

15. The area of ^{c}Anjar does not figure on the list of Bronze Age tells in the Biqa$^{\supset}$ given by Rolf Hachmann in "Zur Siedlungskunde der Biqa$^{\supset}$," *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kamed el Loz (Libanon) in den Jahren 1966–1967* (Bonn, 1970), pp. 71 ff.
16. Polybius 5.46.1–5.46.4, and 5.61.7.
17. René Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), p. 401. It should be noted here that the old name of ^{c}Anjar, ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr, means the source (or spring) of al-Jarr. The ruined town is one kilometer distant from flowing springs.
18. Abu'l Fida, *Géographie,* ed. M. Reinaud et MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 40.
19. R. Hachmann, "Zur Siedlungskunde der Biqa$^{\supset}$," p. 85.
20. Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel,* pp. 182–91.
21. The name Majdal (called on contemporary maps Majd al-^{c}Anjar) is not documented before the fourteenth century; *majdal* means elevation.
22. It is complemented today by extensive irrigation from the springs northeast of the ruins of ^{c}Anjar.
23. There are several springs north of Majdal ^{c}Anjar. The closest one, about 4 km. north, is called ^{c}Ayn al-Hemmeh. ^{c}Ayn Shamsin is next: near the latter, a rectangular caravanserai, about 63 meters long and 50 meters wide, with central court and a gate embedded in a massive semicircular tower, was built in cut stone.
24. Agapius (Mahbub) de Menbidj, *Kitab al-Unvan, Histoire universelle,* ed. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis,* 8,3, pt. 2 (Paris, 1919), p. 254.
25. Yakut, *Geographisches Wörterbuch,* 2:57.
26. On the frequency and the meaning of the toponym Gerra, see Ernst Honigmann, *Le Synekdemos d'Hierokles et l'opuscule géographique de George de Chypre* (Brussels, 1939), p. 58, n. 699.
27. Thus called in Greco-Roman times to distinguish it from Chalcis ad Belum (Kinnesrin) in northern Syria.
28. Dussaud, *Topographie,* p. 402 (includes bibliographic references). In my opinion, the site of Chalcis ad Libanum is yet to be identified.
29. Henri Seyrig, letter dated June 10, 1972, addressed to me from Neuchâtel, Switzerland.
30. Edmonds Frézouls, "La toponymie de l'Orient syrien, et l'apport des éléments macédoniens," in *La toponymie antique: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 12–14 juin 1975,* p. 239.
31. Sauvaget, "Les ruines omeyyades de Andjar," p. 5.
32. Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Béqa$^{\supset}$,* in *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie,* vol. 6, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, vol. 78 (Paris: Geuthner, 1967), p. 39. By then the excavations at ^{c}Anjar had cleared most of the site.
33. Maurice Chéhab, "Les palais omeyyades de ^{c}Anjar," p. 22 (description of the substructures).
34. After the first century A.D., Chalcis ad Libanum vanished from ancient literature. It is possible that, as in the case of Byblos, Heliopolis, and other sites, the Greek Hellenistic name was superseded by the local one as the city lost its importance. A. H. M. Jones reconstructs Chalcis's subsequent history as follows: "The diminutive kingdom of Chalcis vanished altogether after the reign of Aristobulus, son of Herod. Chalcis did not become a city for it issued no coins, had no bishops, and is not recorded in Hierocles or Georgius Cyprius. The kingdom may have been attached to one of the neighbouring cities. More probably it became an imperial estate, the Saltus Gonaiticus. This estate is mentioned twice in Georgius, once correctly in the province of Phoenice, and again in a corrupt form in Libanensis" (*The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [Oxford, 1937], p. 283). The silence which surrounds Chalcis is contemporary with the development of Heliopolis/Ba^{c}albek and Berytus whose domain expanded over the Tetrarchy's domain (Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Béqa$^{\supset}$,* p. 37).
35. Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Béqa$^{\supset}$,* pp. 229–32. The inscriptions that may come from a sanctuary are numbered 2978 and 2979.
36. It is often difficult to differentiate between late Roman and early Byzantine architectural structures, for, aside from distinctive early Byzantine innovations in the decoration of capitals and friezes, architectural structures continued to be sculpted in the late Eastern Roman tradition during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods.
37. Rey-Coquais: *Baalbek et Béqa$^{\supset}$,* pp. 230–31, n. 2980.
38. Ibid., p. 231.
39. Ibid., p. 32, n. 2984.
40. Qasr Ibn Wardan's church is an example.
41. Theodore Noeldeke, "Zur Topographie und Geschichte des damaschenischen Gebietes und der Haurângegend," *Zeitschrift des Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* 29 (1875): 441.
42. Jadda is identified with Qal^{c}at Samra, north of Amman in Jordan; cf. Robert Devresse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1945), pp. 210 and 222.
43. W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (London, 1871), pt. 2, p. 712a (text reproduced in Syriac, without translation; see J. B. Chabot, below, for a Latin translation).
44. J. B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas, Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium Christianorum. Scriptores Syri,* series 2, vol. 37 (Louvain, 1933), p. 153 (it should be noted that the Latin translation and the transliteration of the names are questionable).
45. Private communication in February 1974.
46. See above and n. 43; the commentary and reference to the inscription, translated by Henri Seyrig and published by J.-P. Rey-Coquais.
47. For further details on the plan of ^{c}Anjar, see Hafez Chehab, "Les palais omeyyades de Anjar," pp. 18–25; Maurice Chéhab, "The Umayyad Palace at Anjar"; Creswell, *EMA,* pp. 478–81.
48. Drobeta in Dacia offers an interesting sixth century parallel with the same pattern of two colonnaded streets, bordered with cells, intersecting at right angles in the center of the quadrangle. See I. Miclea and R. Florescu, *Daco-Romanii,* 6 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1980), 2:184 (2 plans). For bibliographical references on Drobeta, see Cristian M. Vladescu, *Fortificatiile Romane din Dacia Inferior* (Craiova: Scrisul Romanesc, 1986), pp. 12–16.
49. See above, n. 34.
50. Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Béqa$^{\supset}$,* pp. 229–32.
51. Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab futuh al-buldan,* ed. Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1916), vol. 1, p. 201.
52. In Roman times, the road from Damascus to Baalbek went through Zabadani and Wadi Yahfufeh, northwest of Damascus. In Islamic times, the pass of Wadi al-Harir, west of Damascus, was commonly used, with a halt at Anjar.
53. Al-Zahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam,* vol. 2 (Cairo, 1368 [1948]), p. 6.

54. Nikita Elisséef, *Nur ad-Din* (Damascus, 1967), 1:253.
55. Muhammad Khuraysat, "Dawr Ghassan fi al-hayat al-^{c}ammat," *Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham during the Umayyad period. Proceedings of the Third Symposium, 24–29 October 1987,* Arabic section, vol. 1, ed. Muhammad ^{c}Adnan Bakhit (Amman, 1989), p. 202; the location of the manuscript is not indicated.
56. *Chronique anonyme ad 819 pertinens,* ed. J. B. Chabot, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Syri,* series 3, vol. 14 (Louvain, 1934), p. 9. This chonicle was copied and continued in the *Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846,* ed. E. W. Brooks, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 51 (1897).
57. It is a coincidence that the word *jarr* in ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr means in Arabic "the foot, base or lowest part of a mountain, or the place where it rises from the plain to the rugged part" (E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [London 1865], p. 399). This word perfectly describes the geographical setting of the springs and the ruined site of ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr. This, however, must be a coincidence, although it was not unusual for the Umayyads to name a place after its geographical features: al-Ramla, founded by al-Walid's brother Sulayman, was built in a sandy area (in Arabic, *raml* is sand), as pointed out by al-Baladhuri (ca. 840–ca. 942)), *Kitab futuh al-buldan,* pp. 220–21.
58. *Theophanes Chronographia,* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), 1:377.
59. Ibid., p. 418. Gara is here called Garis.
60. The name Romania refers to the lands of the Byzantines; its inhabitants are called "Rums," for Romans, in Arabic.
61. Al-Tabari, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, 2nd ser., vol. 2 (Leiden, 1883–85), p. 1200; and E. W. Brooks: "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750) from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898): 193.
62. On stonecutting, tools, and stonecutters at ^{c}Anjar, see H. Kalayan, "A New Outlook into the History of Architecture through the Tools Used in Schools of Masonry," *al-Mouhandess* 11 (April, 1968): 3–15; see in particular fig. 11–12, and the commentary on ^{c}Anjar, pp. 9–10.
63. Paul Mouterde, "Inscriptions en syriaque dialectal à Kamed (Béqa$^{\supset}$)," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 2 (1939): 73–106; idem, "Trente ans après, les inscriptions de Kamed (complément)," ibid., 44 (1968): 23–29; Paul Maiberger, "Die syrischen Inschriften von Kamid el Loz und die Frage der Identität von Kamid el Loz und Kumidi," in *Kamid el Loz-Kumidi,* ed. D. O. Edzard and Rolf Hachmann (Bonn, 1970), pp. 11–21.
64. In the René Mouterde article, they are numbered 5, 10, 20, 21, 28.
65. Jean Sauvaget, "Notes de topographie omeyyade," *Syria* 24 (1944–1945): 102.
66. René Mouterde, review of Jean Sauvaget, "Notes de topographie omeyyade," in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 27 (1947–48): 421–22.
67. Creswell, *EMA,* p. 481.
68. Kalayan, "New Outlook into the History of Architecture," p. 9.
69. P. Mouterde, "Inscriptions en syriaque dialectal," p. 76 and pl. 26,3; René Mouterde: "Antiquités de l'Hermon et de la Béqa^{c}," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 24 (1951–52): 39–44 (par. 8: *Tombe de Kamed,* figs. 6–8).
70. Hafez Chehab, *Archaeological Survey of Lebanon. 1980–1983* (to appear); see Magharat Marina and Le Moinestre (Munaytra), near Afka.
71. P. Mouterde, "Inscriptions en syriaque dialectal," p. 76. From this quarry, stone was probably extracted for ^{c}Ayn-al Jarr; masons' marks, in the form of geometrical figures, are inscribed on its walls near Syriac inscriptions (pls. 27–28). Similar, unpublished, masons' marks are found on nummilitic stones at ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr.
72. Ibid., p. 104.
73. Ibid., p. 105.
74. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma^{c}rifat al-aqalim* (La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces), translated into French by André Miquel (Damascus, 1963), p. 215.
75. Ibid., p. 105.
76. *Theophanes Chronographia,* 1:377.
77. Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," pp. 192–97.
78. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., p. 12.
79. H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue with Texts,* IV: *The Aphrodito Papyri* (London, 1910), papyrus 1434, 26, p. 310; Bell reports that H. F. Amedroz suggested that "Ainalger" be identified with ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr in the Biqa$^{\supset}$. The name "Ainalger" is either a transcription from an Arabic text or, more likely, the phonetic transcription of this name by Coptic workers returning from ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr.
80. H. I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam* 4 (1913): 87.
81. "Laborers" is more correct. In a private communication in the spring of 1974, Ernest Will pointed out that ρ́ αγγ$^{\alpha}$ means 100 laborers. This translation was questioned by Ihor Ševčenko in the summer of 1992.
82. W. C. Till: *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptische Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna, 1962), pp. 237–42.
83. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine,* p. 115.
84. *The Aphrodito Papyri,* nos. 1366, 1403, 1414, 1433, 1435, and others.
85. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine,* p. 113.
86. Ibidem.
87. Ory, "Les graffitis," pp. 97–148.
88. Ibid., p. 145.
89. Ibid., p. 100.
90. A full inventory is given in my forthcoming monograph on ^{c}Ayn al-Jarr.
91. Al-Ya^{c}qubi, *Historiae.* ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), 2:403.
92. Al-Tabari, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, 2nd ser., vol. 3 (Leiden, 1885–89), pp. 1876–77.
93. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexikon.*
94. Henri Lammens, "La badia et la hira sous les Omaiyades," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph,* 4 (1910): 108.